

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----261536Z 125798 /44

O R 261440Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7750
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 5181

EXDIS

GENEVA PASS TO AMBASSADOR MARSHALL

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, SO, US, UR, KE, ET
SUBJ: SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO KENYA ASSESSES SOVIET/CUBAN
ROLE IN ETHIOPIA

REF: (A) STATE 67050, (B) STATE 85332, (C) MOGADISCIO 634,
(D) STATE 93358

1. INTRODUCTION. SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO KENYA, HUSSEIN HAAJI
ALI DUALEH, GAVE ME HIS CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET/CUBAN
OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA AT APRIL 25 LUNCHEON
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ARRANGED AT DUALEH'S INITIATIVE. AS ON SEVERAL PREVIOUS
OCCASIONS, DUALEH APPEARED TO BE ACTING, AT LEAST IN PART,
ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT. IN GENERAL, HE
ORCHESTRATED APPROXIMATELY SAME LINE AS SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO
US, ABDULLAHI AHMED ADDOU, HAS IN RECENT MEETINGS WITH USG
OFFICIALS AS REPORTED IN REFS A, C, AND D, BUT DID NOT REPEAT
NOT EVEN HINT AT POSSIBILITY OR DESIRABILITY OF US MILITARY

ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. THRUST OF HIS REMARKS WAS THAT SOMALI GOVERNMENT HAS CONCLUDED THAT SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE DECIDED TO GO ALL OUT TO SUPPORT MENGISTU REGIME IN ETHIOPIA WITHOUT REGARD FOR PROBABLE ADVERSE REACTIONS FROM SOMALIA AND OTHER NEARBY STATES. HE ASSERTED THAT SOVIETS AND CUBANS HAVE ALREADY EMBARKED ON AMBITIOUS PROGRAM TO STRENGTHEN ETHIOPIAN ARMED FORCES SO AS TO ENABLE ADDIS REGIME TO REESTABLISH FIRM CENTRAL CONTROL OVER ALL PARTS OF THIOPIA, INCLUDING ERITREA. END INTRODUCTION

2. DUALEH STATED THAT, ACCORDING TO SOMALI INTELLIGENCE SOURCES IN ETHIOPIA, CUBANS NOW HAVE GROUP OF 500-600 MILITARY EXPERTS (FORMERLY IN ANGOLA) IN ETHIOPIA NEAR HARAR ENGAGED IN TRAINING APPROXIMATELY 40,000 ETHIOPIAN SOLDIERS WHO WILL WITHIN ABOUT 90 DAYS BE FORMED INTO TWO NEW ARMY DIVISIONS (IN ADDITION TO ETHIOPIAN ARMY'S EXISTING FOUR DIVISIONS) TO BE USED TO SUPPORT MENGISTU IN BRINGING ALL PARTS OF ETHIOPIA UNDER FIRM CENTRAL CONTROL. DUALEH SAID MILITARY TACTICS TO BE EMPLOYED WOULD BE SIMILAR THOSE USED BY CUBANS IN ANGOLA TO ESTABLISH LUANDA'S AUTHORITY OVER OTHER PARTS OF THAT COUNTRY. TWO NEW DIVISIONS ARE TO BE EQUIPPED WITH SOVIET WEAPONS WHICH ARE CURRENTLY BEING AIRLIFTED FROM USSR TO ADEN, SOUTH YEMEN, AND THEN SENT BY SHIP TO ASSAB IN ERITREA. HE SAID CUBANS ARE NOW SETTING UP SPECIAL MILITARY UNIT TO ENSURE SECURITY OF ASSAB, INCLUDING OIL REFINERY. IN ADDITION, CUBAN OFFICERS OF UP TO GENERAL RANK HAVE RECENTLY VISITED ASMARA, PRESUMABLY TO PLAN TACTICS FOR EVENTUAL CAMPAIGN TO PACIFY ERITREA. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE ARE STILL CUBANS IN SOMALIA
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PROVIDING VAROUS TYPES OF MILITARY TRAINING, DUALEH SAID HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD SOON BE ASKED TO LEAVE.

3. DUALEH SAID THAT SOMALI GOVERNMENT NOW ENGAGED IN SWEEP-ING POLICY REVIEW AS RESULT ITS CONCLUSION THAT SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED (WITH SUPPORT OF CUBA, LIBYA, AND SOUTH YEMEN) TO GO ALL OUT IN SUPPORT OF MENGISTU REGIME. THIS DECISION WAS APPARENTLY MADE SHORTLY AFTER MENGISTU CONSOLIDATED HIS POWER ON FEBRUARY 3. SOMALIS ARE ADDITIONALLY UPSET BY FACT THAT USSR HAS SENT SOVIET GENERAL, WHO FORMERLY SERVED IN SOMALIA, TO ADDIS TO TAKE CHARGE OF ALL SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA. THIS GENERAL OBVIOUSLY IS PERSONALLY KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MANY KENY ELEMENTS OF SOMALIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY. DUALEH CLAIMED ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT'S APRIL 23 DECISION TO CLOSE DOWN SEVERAL USG UNITS WAS MOVE INSTIGATED BY SOVIETS AND SAID THIS ACTION CONSTITUTED FURTHER EVIDENCE OF HIS CONTENTION THAT SOVIETS NOW PREPARED GIVE MENGISTU FULLEST SUPPORT.

4. WHEN I SUGGESTED THAT HEAVY SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA WHICH HE POSTULATED COULD ONLY ANTAGONIZE SEVERAL ARAB COUNTRIES, DUALEH AGREED BUT NOTED THAT SOVIET POLICY TOWARD ARAB COUNTRIES HAS NOT BEEN NOTEWORTHY SUCCESS AND THAT ONLY LIBYA, SOUTH YEMEN, AND POSSIBLY IRAQ, REMAIN PRO-SOVIET. SOMALIS BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS PERCEIVE STRATEGIC VALUE OF DOMINATING ERITREA AND ITS RED SEA COAST FAR OUTWEIGH ANY ADVERSE REACTION BY COUNTRIES SUCH AS SUDAN, SAUDIA ARABIA, NORTH YEMEN, EGYPT AND SOMALIA.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 261440Z APR 77
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EXDIS

GENEVA PASSTO AMBASSADOR MARSHALL

5. ACCORDING TO DUALEH, BOTH PODGORNYY AND CASTRO DURING THEIR RECENT AFRICAN VISITS MADE MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SECURE FULL SUPPORT OF TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, AND MOZAMBIQUE FOR MENGISTU REGIME. ANGOLA, WHICH APPARENTLY ACQUIESCED IN TRANSFER OF CUBAN MILITARY EXPERTS TO ETHIOPIA, HAD EARLIER GIVEN ITS FULL BACKING TO SOVIET INITIATIVE.

6. DUALEH ASKED ME WHAT I THOUGH KENYAN REACTION
WOULD BE TO RECENT EVENTS IN ETHIOPIA. WOULD KENYA
BE LIKELY TO ABROGATE ITS DEFENSE PACT WITH ETHIOPIA?

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I SAID I HAD HEARD NOTHING ON SUBJECT FROM KENYAN
OFFICIALS SINCE APRIL 23 ETHIOPIAN DECISION TO REDUCE
US OFFICIAL PRESENCE, BUT OPINED THAT THIS ACTION WOULD
DOUBTLESS GIVEN KENYANS REASONS TO REVIEW THEIR POLICY
TOWARD ETHIOPIA. HOWEVER, IT SEEMED UNLIKELY TO ME
THAT KENYA WOULD TAKE DRASTIC STEPS SUCH AS ABROGATING
OR ALTERING ITS DEFENSE UNDERSTANDINGS WITH ETHIOPIA
IN ABSENCE OF HOSTILE ETHIOPIAN MOVE DIRECTED
SPECIFICALLY AT KENYA. DUALEH ASKED WHETHER KENYA
MIGHT NOT NOW BE RECEPTIVE (IN VIEW OF CURRENT BAD
RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA, UGANDA, AND POSSIBLY WITH
ETHIOPIA) TO SOMALI INITIATIVE AIMED AT IMPROVING
BILATERAL RELATIONS. I OBSERVED THAT ONLY KENYANS
COULD REALLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION, BUT SAID THAT
MY OWN EXPERIENCE WITH KENYANS SUGGESTS THAT THEY
WOULD BE WARY OF ANY VAUGE SOMALI INITIATIVE (E.G.
RESURFACING OF "CONFDERATION" IDEA) WHICH DID NOT
EXPLICITLY ASSURE KENYA OF SOMALIA'S ACCEPTANCE OF
PRESENT BORDER BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. I SUGGESTED
THAT NO KENYAN GOVERNMENT COULD SURVIVE LOSS OF ANY
SOMALI-INHABITED KENYA TERRITORY NO MATTER HOW
ECONOMICALLY USELESS TO KENYA THIS ARID COUNTRY MIGHT
BE. DUALEH AGREED AND CLAIMED, AS ON MANY PREVIOUS
OCCASIONS, THAT SOMALIA DOES NOT REALLY WISH TO ABSORB
ANY KENYAN TERRITORY. I SAID THAT IF THIS WERE TRUE,
SOMALIA WOULD HAVE TO FIND A WAY OF CONVINCING KENYA
THAT THIS IS INDEED CASE. HE WONDERED ALOUD WHETHER
A 30-YEAR BILATERAL NON-AGGRESSION PACT MIGHT NOT BE
AN ANSWER.

7. COMMENT: WHILE DUALEH'S ASSERTION RE SOVIET POLICY
IN ETHIOPIA MUST BE TREATED WITH CIRCUMSPECTION, THERE IS,
NEVERTHELESS, A CERTAIN INHERENT LOGIC IN SUCH A BOLD
SOVIET MOVE WHICH SHOULD AT LEAST BE
CONSIDERED AS THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY IN OUR OWN
POLICY DELIBERATIONS. ELIMINATION OF PRESENT SOVIET

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ACCESS TO MILITARY FACILITIES IN SOMALIA (IF NOT
REPLACED BY COMPARABLE FACILITIES IN ETHIOPIA) WOULD

BE PLUS INsofar AS SUG CONCERNED, BUT WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS
ABOUT PRICE WE WOULD BE WILLING TO PAY SOMALIA FOR THIS
"ADVANTAGE". FOR EXAMPLE, IF WE VALUE OUR PRESENT
EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH KENYA, WE MUST REJECT COMPLETELY
SOMALIA'S REQUEST FOR US ARMS, EVEN IF THESE ARMS
WERE FINANCED BY ARAB MONEY. KENYANS WOULD WITHOUT
ANY DOUBT BE OUTRAGED IF WE WERE TO PROVIDE ANY REPEAT
ANY MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. ON
OTHER HAND, KENYANS WOULD NOT OBJECT TO OUR SUBSTANTIALLY
INCREASING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA, PARTICULARLY
IF THIS WERE ACCOMPAINED BY CLEAR-CUT SIGNALS FROM
MOGADISCIO OF A GENUINE DESIRE TO REMOVE MAJOR
IMPEDIMENT (TERRITORIAL CLAIM) TO IMPROVE RELATIONS
WITH KENYA.
LINDSTROM

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Message Attributes

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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 26-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NAIROB05181
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Format: TEL
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Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 67050, 77 STATE 85332, 77 MOGADISCIO 634, 77 STATE 93358
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2692114
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO KENYA ASSESSES SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE IN ETHIOPIA
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, SO, US, UR, KE, ET, CU, (HUSSEIN HAAJI ALI DUALEH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/748d1c9f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009